3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE) 1

482
291
415

b. Homeward bound from a visit to her father's house, where she has received a gift of some millet and other foodstuffs

251
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415

a. A senior wife (*nyakpeem*) in her *dindapo* sorting newly harvested millet. With her are one of her daughter's children and the small son of a co-wife

[facing p. 112]

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
FE11 Tallensi FE11

312
291
482

1. Bringing home firewood: Mother and daughter

415
252
354

2. A woman in her kitchen (posed)

[facing p. 264]

5: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937)1938 FE11 Tallensi FE11

Plate I

534
291
482
857

A young nursemaid, amusing herself and the baby with a *Kinkaŋax* rattle

857

Housekeeping Play. One of the girls combines the duty of looking after an infant with her play. Note the small boy in the party, and the 'utensils'

[facing p. 16]

5: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937)1938 FE11 Tallensi FE11

827 881 *Naawun*, Heaven, the *ultima ratio* of Tale philosophy, corresponding in this context to our notion of Nature.

812 In keeping with this conception of physical growth, children are *expected* to acquire, in due course, the elementary bodily skills—sitting, 868 crawling, walking, running, hand-eye-mouth co-ordination in eating, 855 and so forth. There is no deliberate training in these skills. Parents 856 and older siblings take an affectionate and attentive, though sporadic, interest in an infant's psycho-physical development, but do not resort to special methods of fostering it. An infant beginning to crawl is allowed to practise more or less at will, watched by mother or sister, brother or father, lest it injure itself. An infant beginning to walk is supported for a bit, now and then, by an older child, or a parent, or any one to whose care it happens to be entrusted. There is no such thing as regular training in these skills. The attention given to an infant in these respects is a function not only of its stage of physiological development, but even more so of the practical exigencies of the situation with which the parent or older child has to cope at the moment. It is quite usual to see incidents such as this: a woman is [313] gathering guinea corn-stalks for her fire some 20–30 yards from the homestead. Her infant son of about 2½ years totters along the path to her calling out *mma*, *mma* (my mother). She appears to take no [516] notice until he reaches her. He stands beside her, clutching her thigh tightly, while she finishes tying the bundle of guinea corn-stalks. She [482] puts the bundle on her head and, as she wants to get back into the house as quickly as possible, swings the infant—by one arm—up to her hip and marches off. If she were not in a hurry she might walk back slowly, allowing the infant to follow her and throwing back encouraging remarks to him.

868 854 Since nobody thinks infants need special training by particular persons, the natives have a habit of bandying them about from one member of a family to another, though grandparents, co-wives, and other children of the same mother are the most usual nursemaids. A Tale child must, from earliest infancy, learn to co-operate to its fullest capacity with the demands of practical necessity: it must learn to adapt itself to such facts of reality as the economic preoccupations of its mother. I have often seen children of about 12–18 months left sitting in the shade for half an hour or longer, quite alone, while their

6: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

by dry stretches of sand remains. The river during the rains is simply known as *mɔyar*, "river"; but each pool has a name extended to the corresponding division of the river banks on both sides.

The end of the dry season and the commencement of the agricultural season receives social affirmation in a great ritual festival the *Gɔlib*, celebrated by one group of Tallensi clans. The series of rites and ceremonies includes a communal and ritual fishing of a pool *Golimbiuŋ*, dedicated to *Gɔlib* (not in the Volta). The fishing itself is a ritual performance in which the size of the catch counts for very little. But this inaugurates the season of the utilitarian fishing expeditions, none of which may precede the fishing of *Golimbiuŋ*. The magical intention of *Gɔlib* is to ensure the fertility of crops, women, and livestock, success in all food-getting enterprises, security from danger, disease and death. Fishing is frequently mentioned in the exhortations addressed to the ancestor spirits during the *Gɔlib* rites. The *Gɔlib*, however, is more in the nature of a general blessing than of specifically efficacious magic.

Some ten to fourteen days after the close of *Gɔlib* the first of the communal fishing expeditions takes place. Every owner decides for himself the day on which he wishes to fish his pool. Thus it often happens that two or more fishing expeditions to different parts of the Volta occur on the same day. During the month I recorded the occurrence of ten expeditions; but as many more certainly escaped my notice. I accompanied three of these expeditions.

An impending fishing expedition is announced through the two main channels customary for the publication of such events. A day or two in advance, after darkness falls, the owner causes it to be cried (*tuol*) from the house-tops of his settlement. The news subsequently spreads throughout the country, from mouth to mouth. But alternatively or in addition, he employs an even more effective means of publicity, the market. Members of his family and neighbours are sent on market day to inform the friends and acquaintances they meet. Soon it is known to every person in the market, to which people throng from every quarter of the Tallensi and neighbouring tribal areas.

A message may also be sent to the *Tɔŋraana*, the chief of highest rank in the Tallensi country; but this is an act of deference not a political obligation, and is observed principally by the minor chiefs who have a clan relationship with Tongo. So also the chief of Kurugu, Paramount Chief of the division, is usually apprised.

So much for the economic, seasonal and public context of fishing. On the appointed day ceaseless processions of men, women, adolescent boys and girls, and even children of 9 and 10 years, converge upon the selected pool. Some of them come from eight or nine miles away by winding paths through low but rough and sparsely inhabited bush. The men and boys carry bows and arrows, spears and axes, as well as their fishing nets, partly as a precaution against meeting with a hyena or leopard or some game, partly out of habit. The women, balancing their fishing baskets on the head, set out with the men. But as the procession swells they tend to drop behind to join their fellows, and come along